

Message Text

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AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

AMCONSUL BELEM

AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE

AMCONSUL SALVADOR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BRASILIA 4584

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR, PO, AN, MX, PU, XA

SUBJECT: VISIT OF GENERAL GALVAO DE MELO TO BRAZIL

1. SUMMARY. GENERAL GALVAO DE MELO, MEMBER OF THE JUNTA OF NATIONAL SALVATION, OF PORTUGAL, SPENT JUNE 9-15 IN BRAZIL DURING WHICH HE MADE A MAJOR SPEECH AT THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE READING ROOM IN RIO DE JANEIRO, ATTENDED THE PORTUGUESE NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS IN THAT CITY, AND TRAVELED TO SAO PAULO AND BRASILIA. HE HAD NUMEROUS CONTACTS WITH THE PRESS AT BOTH FORMAL PRESS CONFERENCES AND ON MORE AD HOC OCCASIONS AND COMPLETED HIS TOUR, AFTER BEING FETED AT A LUNCHEON BY FOREIGN MINISTER AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA, BY BEING RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT GEISEL ON SATURDAY, JUNE 15. GALVAO'S MISSION SEEMED TO BE DIVIDED INTO TWO DISCRETE PARTS: FIRST, TO WIN OVER AND GIVE ASSURANCES

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TO THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN BRAZIL OF THE REGIME'S HONEST

INTENTIONS, CONTROL OVER THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT HOME, AND OPENNESS TO THE CONTINUING FAITH AND SUPPORT, INCLUDING INVESTMENT IN PORTUGAL, FROM THE OVERSEAS PORTUGUESE; SECONDLY, TO REASSURE THE GOB CONCERNING THE NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT. BRAZILIAN PRESS COVERAGE OF THE GENERAL'S ACTIVITIES AND REMARKS WAS EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED. GIVEN BELOW IS A SERIES OF QUOTES FROM HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THE CONSENSUS OF LOCAL OBSERVERS IS THAT HE ACCOMPLISHED THE FIRST PART OF HIS VISIT IN EVERY ESSENTIAL DEGREE. IN THE SECOND, HE ENCOUNTERED THE PREVAILING CAUTION OF THE GOB TOWARD CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL AND ITS ANXIETY TO PRESERVE ITS LINES OPEN TO BOTH PORTUGAL AND AFRICA.

IN ANY EVENT, GALVAO APPEARED TO HAVE LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE TO TREAT WITH THE GOB. THE RESULT WAS THAT EVENTS INVOLVING BRAZILIAN AUTHORITIES TOOK ON A LARGELY CEREMONIAL CHARACTER. END SUMMARY.

2. GALVAO DE MEL'S SPEECH ON JUNE 10 AT THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE READING ROOM WAS ATTENDED BY SUCH LOCAL LUMINARIES AS GOVERNOR CHAGAS FREITAS, FORMER GOVERNOR AND AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL NEGRAO DE LIMA, AS WELL AS CELIO BORJA, MAJORITY LEADER OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, WHO MADE THE INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF WELCOME AND OF PORTUGUESE SOLIDARITY. GALVAO NOT ONLY DESCRIBED THE REASONS BEHIND THE APRIL 25 REVOLUTION BUT HIGHLIGHTED THE DEMOCRATIC BENT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHEN HE SAID: "THE ARMED FORCES WISH THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE TO BE FREE DE FACTO; FREE TO CREATE THEIR OWN IDEAS AND TO DISCUSS THEM; FREE LIKE ALL THE PORTUGUESE TO CHOOSE WHAT IS BEST FOR THE PORTUGUESE."

3. FOLLOWING IS A SELECTION OF GALVAO'S PUBLIC REMARKS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO TOPIC AND SELECTED FROM AMONG THOSE WHICH HAD THE MOST IMPACT AMONG BRAZILIAN OBSERVERS:

A. POLITICAL EXTREMISM - IN HIS READING ROOM SPEECH, GALVAO STATED THAT THE "ARMED FORCES DO NOT HAVE IN MIND DELIVERING THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE TO A WINNING PARTY. THIS WOULD MEAN SAVING THE PORTUGUESE FROM ONE SUBJECTION ONLY TO DELIVER THEM TO ANOTHER SUBJECTION. FOR THE TIME BEING, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ARMED FORCES DO NOT EVEN RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF PARTIES AND THOSE GROUPS CALLING THEMSELVES PARTIES ARE DOING SO ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT." THE GENERAL SUBSEQUENTLY CLARIFIED THIS STATEMENT IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESTIGIOUS ESTADO DE SAO PAULO ON JUNE 14 WHEN HE SAID THAT IN MAKING THAT PARTICULAR STATEMENT, "HE WAS SPEAKING OF THE PRESENT. IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN THE FACE OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES PROGRAM, POWER WILL BE HANDED OVER AT

THE END OF ONE YEAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISION OF THE NATION EXPRESSED IN FREE ELECTIONS." SIMILARLY, THE GENERAL'S REMARKS AT THE PORTUGUESE CONSULATE IN RIO ON JUNE 11 THAT "ANY IDEOLOGY WILL BE WELL ACCEPTED AS LONG AS IT FOLLOWS THE RULES OF THE GAME," AND IN SAO PAULO ON JUNE 12 WHEN HE REFERRED TO THE PORTUGUESE "DEMOCRATIC ROAD TO WHICH ALL IDEOLOGIES ARE WELCOME AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT TRESPASS ON THE LIMITS," AND, AGAIN, IN SAOP PAULO ON JUNE 14 THAT THE "JUNTA WILL NOT PERMIT ANY DEVIATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD OPENED ON APRIL 25," APPEAR TO REPRESENT PROGRESSIVE REFINEMENTS AS HE WAS PRESSED FOR ADDITIONAL CLARIFICATION BY A WARY PRESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GENERAL'S REMARKS WERE CONTRADICTED, AT LEAST IN BRAZILIAN EYES, WHEN MAJOR VICTOR ALVES OF THE PORTUGUESE COUNCIL OF STATE WAS QUOTED BY VARIOUS PRESS SOURCES AS SAYING THAT: "IF THE LEFT WINS THE ELECTION WHICH WILL BE HELD WITHIN A YEAR, IT WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE TO THE ARMED FORCES--WE WILL BE AN ARMY OF A COUNTRY OF THE LEFT."

B. AFRICA - GALVAO STATED IN THE READING ROOM SPEECH THAT THE SAME THOUGHT ON ELECTIONS IN EUROPE (PARA. 3A) COULD BE TRANSPOSED TO AFRICA. IT IS NECESSARY FIRST "TO LAY OUT WELL THE ADVANTAGES AND CONVENIENCES OF THE DOCTRINES DEFENDED, ONLY THAT IN THE STATES OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND GUINEA, THE FINAL, CONSCIOUS CHOICE WILL NOT BE LIMITED TO A QUESTION OF PURELY INTERNAL POLITICS. HERE THE SAME CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION WILL LEAVE THE AFRICAN POPULATION FREE TO CONTINUE WITHIN THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL CONTEXT OR TO PREFER AN INDEPENDENCE WITH ALL THE ATTRIBUTES OF A SOVEREIGN STATE." THE GENERAL WAS QUOTED IN A SAO PAULO PRESS CONFERENCE ON JUNE 12 AS SAYING "WE ARE NOT GOING TO BETRAY ANYONE...WE ARE NOT GOING TO DELIVER THE DESTINY OF THESE STATES TO THOSE ANARCHIC GROUPS

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THAT PREACH ONLY SUBVERSION." HE ADDED THAT THE JUNTA WILL NOT HESITATE TO INTERVENE IF NECESSARY. "THIS IS APPLICABLE TO ALL OR ANY REACTIONS OF FORCE IN PORTUGAL OR IN AFRICA."

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C. BRAZILIAN MEDIATION - GENERAL GALVAO STATED IN RIO ON JUNE 11 THAT "ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, SPECIALLY BRAZIL, WHO WI H TO COOPERATE WITH US WILL BE WELCOMED." IN THE ESTADO INTERVIEW, HE STATED THAT "IT WAS THE PROBLEM OF DISTANCE WHICH ROBBED US OF THIS POSSIBILITY" (OF INITIATING CONVERSATIONS WITH THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN BRAZIL). HE ADDED: "WE ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO REQUEST THE MEDIATORY INTERVENTION OF BRAZIL IN THE EVENT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ARRIVE AT AN IMPASSE, BUT SO FAR THE CONVERSA-TIONS ARE PROCEEDING NORMALLY." AFTER HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GEISEL, GENERAL GALVAO WAS QUOTED ON JUNE 16 AS DENYING THAT HE HAD MADE A REQUEST FOR BRAZILIAN MEDIATION. HE STATED: "MEDIATION CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED EVEN BY A SIMPLE ATTORNEY AND THAT IS NOT WHAT WE NEED. YOU CAN BE SURE THAT ONE OF THE GREATEST DESIRES OF PORTUGAL, WHICH WOULD REALLY BE A MATTER OF GREAT PRIDE FOR US, WOULD BE TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SOURCE OF OTHER BRAZILS IN THE WORLD." HE MANAGED TO DUCK QUESTIONS ON THE LUSA-AFRO-BRAZIL COMMUNITY BY STATING THAT IT WAS "PREMATURE TO INDICATE THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS GOVERNMENT ON THIS SUBJECT" BUT THAT IT WAS "WITHOUT DOUBT, VERY INTERESTING."

D. LUSO-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS - IN SAO PAULO, GALVAO STATED THAT HE EXPECTED TO HAVE FRANK CONVERSATIONS WITH BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR A TRUE COOPERATION "WITHOUT RHETORIC." AFTER MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT IN BRASILIA, HE SAID: "THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION OF APRIL 25 WAS AN OPENING AND IN THAT MANNER THE FRIENDSHIP OF CENTURIES BETWEEN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL COULD NOT BE DISTURBED." IN AN APPARENT NOD AT STATING WHAT HIS HOSTS MIGHT LIKE TO HEAR, HE WAS ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "A REVOLUTION IS A REACTION TO SOMETHING THAT IS WRONG AND THEREFORE NEEDS TO BE TRANSFORMED IN ORDER TO BEGIN A NEW ROAD. BOTH IN PORTUGAL AND IN BRAZIL, WHAT EXISTED BEFORE WAS WRONG."

4. IN A HIGHLY CEREMONIAL LUNCHEON OFFERED TO THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON JUNE 14, THE LATTER STATED: "YOU REFERRED TO BRAZIL AS 'THE COUNTRY OF THE PEOPLE WHO CAN HELP PORTUGAL A GREAT DEAL IN THIS DIFFICULT HOUR OF HER HISTORY.' IT IS NOT UP TO THE FRIEND TO OFFER THAT WHICH IS PROPER TO FRIENDSHIP. IN OUR MISUNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF FRIENDSHIP CARRIES IMPLICIT WITH IT THE DISPOSITION TO SERVE. THIS IS THE SPIRIT WHICH GOVERNS OUR INTEREST AND DEFINES OUR PRE-OCCUPATION." THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO REFERRED TO THE "INVISIBLE GUEST" AT THE LUNCHEON WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS "AFRIA AND HER PEOPLE. PRINCIPALLY THOSE IN AFRICA WHO FEEL THEMSELVES LINKED TO PORTUGAL IN THE WAY THAT, IN THE PAST, IN THIS PART OF AMERICA, THOSE WHO FELT THEMSELVES LINKED TO PORTUGAL MADE BRAZIL THE NATION OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE."

5. ON JUNE 14, DURING THE COURSE OF THE VISIT, WIRE SERVICE DESPATCHES WERE PUBLISHED QUOTING SOURCES AT THE OAU CONFERENCE IN MOGADISCIO TO THE EFFECT THAT THE BRAZILIAN RESPONSE TO THE OAU NOTE (BRASILIA 4158) "ARRIVED TOO LATE, WHEN IT WAS NO LONGER NECESSARY." REPRESENTAT-
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TIVES OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WERE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE "BRAZILIAN INTERVENTION WOULD ONLY COMPLICATE THE SITUATION." THE FOREIGN MINISTRY REACTED IMMEDIATELY, DEMONSTRATING ITS BASIC ANXIETY AND DESIRE TO REMAIN INVOLVED WITH BOTH PORTUGAL AND AFRICA AT NO COST. THE MINISTRY ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE TO THE EFFECT THAT BRAZIL HAD NOT OFFERED MEDIATION BUT WAS MERELY "PREPARED TO LEND ALL COOPERATION WHICH MAY BE REQUESTED FROM EITHER OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES." THE MINISTRY TOOK PAINS TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN COOPERATION AND MEDIATION AND STATED THAT, IN SENDING A COPY ON THE OAU NOTE TO LISBON, THEY HAD PERFORMED A FORM OF COOPERATION WITHOUT IT HAVING HAD THE SENSE OF A MEDIATION.

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6. COMMENT: IT IS THE CONSENSUS OF BRAZILIAN OBSERVERS THAT THE GALVAO VISIT WAS A PUBLIC RELATIONS SUCCESS, PARTICULARLY WITH THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN BRAZIL BUT A DUD SUBSTANTIVELY. THE BRAZILIANS WERE BEMUSED BY THE CONTRASTS IN THE PORTUGUESE REGIMES. THEY OBSERVED THE SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURES AT PORTUGUESE RECEPTIONS ON JUNE 10, ON THE OCCASION OF PORTUGAL DAY, WHEN SPEECHES CRITICAL OF THE OLD REGIME WERE MADE, RED CARNATIONS WERE VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE AND OLD PORTUGUESE EXILES WERE INVITED FOR THE FIRST TIME TO OFFICIAL PORTUGUESE RECEPTIONS. IN BRASILIA, THE PORTUGUESE EMBASSY RECEPTION WAS NOTABLE FOR THE PRESENCE FOR THE FIRST TIME NOT ONLY OF IRON CURTAIN AND SOME AFRICAN DIPLOMATS, BUT ALSO FOR THAT OF MEMBERS OF THE RADICAL WING OF THE BRAZILIAN OPPOSITION PARTY (MDB). AT THE PORTUGUESE RECEPTION IN PORTO ALEGRE, THIS WAS CARRIED A STEP FURTHER WHEN THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER WAS THE MDB SENATORIAL CANDIDATE PAULO

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BROSSARD. THESE EVENTS CONTRIBUTED TO THE BRAZILIAN APPRAISAL OF THE VISIT. ALTHOUGH GALVAO OBVIOUSLY MADE AN EFFECT TO INGRATiate HIMSELF WITH THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT BY A NUMBER OF HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THE EMBASSY'S GOB CONTACTS MADE CLEAR THAT THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT IS STILL APPRAISING THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION WITH A GREAT DEAL OF CAUTION. THE PRIMARY BRAZILIAN OBJECTIVE REMAINS THAT OF KEEPING LINES OPEN TO BOTH SIDES NOT ONLY TO PRESERVE ANY FUTURE ROLE FOR THEMSELVES, BUT ALSO TO AVOID GETTING CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN AFRICAN DEMANDS AND ANY PORTUGUESE INTRANSIGENCE. DESPITE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S RHETORIC, BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS WERE NOT IMPRESSED WITH GENERAL GALVAO. THE HEADS OF THE AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENTS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY BOTH STATED THAT GALVAO PRESENTED NO PROPOSALS TO THE GOB AND, BEYOND THE PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECT, THEY COULD SEE NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE VISIT. A HIGH RANKING MILITARY STAFF OFFICER STATED THAT GALVAO'S REMARKS HAD BEEN ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT, IN HIS VIEW, THE GENERAL HAD SUFFERED FROM EXPOSURE TO THE PRESS AND HIS OWN TALKATIVE NATURE. WORST, ACCORDING TO THE STAFF OFFICER, WAS THE FACT THAT "GALVAO PERMITTED HIS SUBORDINATE TO SPEAK," IN AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO MAJOR ALVES' STATEMENT MENTIONED IN PARA . 3A ABOVE. ALVES' REMARKS DID NOT SIT WELL WITH THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY. IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE COMMENT, IF OFFENDED THE VERY WELL DEVELOPED BRAZILIAN MILITARY SENSE OF HIERARCHY COMING AS IT DID FROM THE LIPS OF AN APPARENT SUBORDINATE OFFICER. A BRITISH EMBASSY SOURCE STATED THAT THE EMBASSY HAS HEARD THAT GALVAO HAD REQUESTED BRAZILIAN ASSISTANCE INFORMING AN ORGANIZATION TO REPLACE THE OLD DGS, BUT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THIS RUMOR FROM ANY OTHER SOURCE. IN SUM, OUR BRAZILIAN CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT, EXCEPT FOR THE RHETORICAL AND SENTIMENTAL BENT OF THE VISIT, NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE WAS ACHIEVED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE BRAZILIAN OBJECTIVE OF KEEPING THEIR OPTIONS OPEN IN BOTH PORTUGAL AND AFRICA WAS ALSO NOT AFFECTED.

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